1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

245 242 *lishin*, the orange tree. Riffian oranges are of the common North African variety. Tangerines are not grown in the Rif. It is said that the fruit of the male orange tree is elongated, while that of the female tree is round. Orange shoots are grafted to wild lemon trees without distinction of sex.

limon, the cultivated lemon tree, as distinguished from the wild variety.

tifah, the apple tree. Riffian apples are small and stunted, and not very palatable. They are not commonly grown except in the highest mountain tribes. The apple shoots are frequently grafted onto hawthornes. A sex distinction is made between the apples: the male ones are said to be large and white, and the females red.

firas, the pear tree. It is said that the male pear is white, while the female is reddish. Grafting onto hawthorne is common.

thaghieshth, the walnut tree. Walnuts are called *nue n thaghieshth*. The Riffians distinguish male from female walnut trees as follows: The male tree bears a hard-shelled nut with little meat; the female's nut is thinner shelled and meatier. Usually the males are cut down to make room for others. No grafting is attempted with walnuts.

juz, the almond tree. The nuts from this tree are called *nue*, the same word which is applied to walnuts. It is said that the male almond bears a nut with a single meat, while the meat of the female is double. Almonds, like walnuts, are not grafted.

er mishmesh, a species of plum tree. The sex of plums is distinguished by breaking the stone and tasting the meat inside. If it is bitter the tree bearing it is supposed to be male. Plums, like apples and pears, are grafted to the hawthorne.

er barkok, the apricot tree. Males are said to have thick skins, and females thin ones. Males are preferred for export, and females for drying.

er khok, the peach tree. The Riffians do not distinguish sex in the peaches, and do not attempt to graft them.

[262] The Riffian prizes his fruit and nut trees highly, perhaps even more than his grain and vegetables, since on the dried fruit of these trees and upon raisins his family is often forced to subsist for months at a time during the winter. He digs around and manures the roots of the trees every spring, and leads irrigation ditches to their trunks. He keeps them carefully pruned and trimmed, and diligently removes insect parasites from leaves and branches.

262 831 [585] Not only does the Riffian take great pains to distinguish between the sexes of the trees, but he also imposes a sex tabu upon the eating of the fruit of two of them, walnuts and almonds. Walnuts may be eaten only by women, and almonds only by men. The reason for this is symbolically sexual, since walnuts, on account of their wrinkled appearance, are supposed to produce a drying and shrinking, whereas almonds are supposed to produce fluidity and potency in men. Both walnuts and almonds consequently play a prominent part in the wedding diet.

Vineyards. Grapes are as important to the Riffians as fruits and nuts. Those grown in the Rif are a large reddish-purple variety, resembling Malaga grapes in form and in taste. They are grown on vines set out on high mountain slopes too steep and too barren for the cultivation of anything else. The vines are kept trimmed, and in spring the soil about their roots is loosened. It is seldom possible to irrigate them, although fertilizer is brought laboriously uphill when possible.

Among the Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Seddath, and Beni Khennus, and in Taghzuth, another variety of grapes is grown, smaller and bluish-purple in color. These grapes are hardier

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

USE OF KOHL

302
585 Kohl, called *thasutch*, is produced locally, and not imported. Pedlars and women find it in lumps in deposits. It is used in powdered form by women to brighten their eyes and darken the lids and lashes. Although the women apply it to their eyes whenever they wish to look particularly attractive, its use is, nevertheless, chiefly confined to and associated with weddings. Before the bride is brought to her husband's house she is treated to an application of kohl. Kohl is used by women, especially in weddings, in all tribes and regions under consideration with the following exceptions: Mountain Urriaghel, Ikhuanen except Tainest, Iherrusben except Telmest, Temjunt, and Beni Amart.

In certain regions kohl is likewise applied to the eyes of the groom, on the occasion of the final night of his wedding. This is done in the Senhaja, the Ghomara, Targuist, Beni Bu Yahyi, and Shawia.

Besides henna and kohl, rouge made of local products is used by women dancing at weddings. It is applied to the lips.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER X

JUDICIAL AND CLERICAL OFFICERS; LAWS GOVERNING INHERITANCE

THERE are in the Rif two classes of officials who concern themselves with judicial and clerical functions: the "clerk," or *adl* (plural *adul*[1]), and the "judge," or *kadhi*. The former is something between a town clerk and minor judge, and the latter a supreme court of appeal. Both concern themselves only with civil, never with criminal, disputes.

The clerk is a former student who specialized in the cantonal mosque in the study of law, rather than in the usual study of magic and religion; some clerks, however, indulge in magical practices on the side as an additional source of income. The clerk takes pains to keep this second profession secret, lest he be expelled from office. Most clerks spend longer than the average period at study, and attend several different mosques in the course of their preparation.

There is at least one clerk in every *bone*. Any person who is qualified by his training may set up as a clerk, but must receive the consensus of local approval before he is entrusted with enough business to make this occupation profitable. A clerk must be dignified and pious.

The clerk is often the schoolmaster of the *bone* as well. In smaller *bones* it is usually an economic necessity for one man to fulfill these two offices, consequently the terms "schoolmaster" and "clerk" have become somewhat confused. A clerk is often called schoolmaster, but a schoolmaster who is not a clerk is never called clerk.

The duties of the clerk include writing and reading letters for illiterate persons, settling controversies as to ownership of property, making out and administering wills, and drawing up documents of sale for landed property and documents of marriage and divorce. He is also called upon to slaughter animals upon ceremonial occasions.

In making out a document of marriage, the clerk writes out the names of the bride and groom, and the amount paid for the bride. He gives the paper to the bride and makes a duplicate, which he keeps. His signature renders the document valid. He similarly makes out divorce papers, which he gives to the woman, who can thus prove that she is no longer under obligation to her husband.

When the clerk makes out the document for a land sale, he takes the old document from the seller, and gives both old and new papers to the purchaser. Each time a piece of land changes hands a new paper is made out, and the present owner has in his possession all of the extant bills of sale for that piece of land. When a piece is subdivided the heir of the owner of the original piece at the time of its subdivision keeps the papers recording transfers prior to this subdivision.

When a man wishes to sell some of the land which has been in his family since time immemorial, and for which there is no paper, he informs the clerk, who advertises for any other claim to this land, either written or oral, and finding none makes a bill of sale.

[1] The usual Arab notary.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

gives it back. The *akwani*, on the other hand, depends largely upon circumcising for his livelihood, and is always paid. Among the nomads he generally receives a dollar or two; among the Galiya his fee is fixed at three dollars and a sheep.

MARRIAGE

The wedding rite is an act, or series of acts, of great importance in the Rif, and requires the expenditure of considerable time, effort, and money. It contains more variable elements of custom than any other single social phenomenon.

Before a wedding is to transpire several things must be settled: the identity of the couple, the consent of others interested, the amount of financial compensations to be made, and the date. Both the boy and the girl have considerable choice in the matter, unless their parents feel some strong compulsion dictated by political expediency. Since all women go unveiled in the Rif, and it is freely permitted for boys and girls to talk together, the children have ample opportunity to become acquainted with each other and to form preferences for particular individuals of the opposite sex.

These opportunities for conversation and observation seldom go so far as to include recognized meetings or courtships, but are usually, to the outward eye at least, confined to casual encounters in the course of daily occupations. Assignations are held in the utmost secrecy through fear of shame and punishment if discovered.

By the time the boy has arrived at the age of sixteen or seventeen and the girl at fourteen or fifteen, which are the usual ages at which young people are married, they often have formed distinct preferences and have made up their minds whom they desire to marry. The situation is totally different from that of the Arabs, among whom the groom is not supposed to have seen the bride unveiled until the actual nuptial night. Although the ages given above approximate the mean in this respect, they are by no means fixed. Some boys are married at fifteen; others delay the ceremony until after they are twenty.

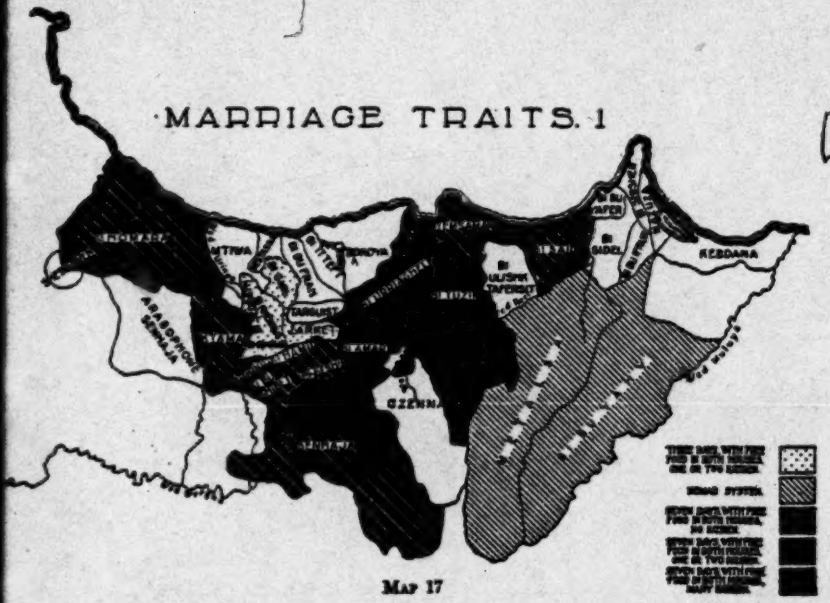
A serious student who intends to become a schoolmaster or clerk may not be married until considerably later than the age of twenty. By the time a boy has reached the age of fifteen he has already become uncertain as to his exact age, and by the time he is twenty he cannot usually tell within three years how old he is. This renders impossible any definite statements as to the marriage age.

Marriages are as a rule exogamous between *veins* and endogamous within *bones*. It is considered incestuous to marry the daughter of a paternal uncle, but proper to marry the daughter of a maternal aunt or uncle or of a paternal aunt. In this way cousin marriage frequently takes place, and most of the *bones*, on account of their small size, are thoroughly inbred. Marriage between *bones* involves the alliance in war of the *bones* involved, and hence is often discouraged through fear of the whole *bone* being dragged into a struggle in which it is not personally interested. On the other hand, a *bone* which is not sure of its martial standing and general security may seek such alliances with stronger *bones*. The traditional distaste against such marriages, however, generally prevents them unless there is good reason for their occurrence. Marriage by preference is usually endogamous within the *bone*, unless two *bones* are so close together that intimate acquaintances may arise readily between the children of them. Unions dictated by the performance of a magical compulsion by one *bone* upon another are seldom refused.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

One reason for exceptionally early marriages is the desire of the parents to have their wishes fulfilled before the children are old enough to make preferences and insist upon them strongly.

When a boy has decided which girl he would like to marry, or when his parents have decided for him and have argued him into submission, the boy's mother seeks out the girl's mother in the women's market or in the ordinary market, and broaches the subject in such a circumlocutory way that if the latter does not show preliminary signs of acceptance the



Map 17

former can change the subject without having committed herself too deeply. If the two women are both willing to have their children wed, the men of the family take the matter up officially. The boy's father, or if he has no father his paternal uncle or elder brother, meets the girl's father in market and proposes it over again; at this time the bargaining over the price commences. This stipend is very variable in amount. Before the war it ranged from one to five or six hundred dollars, until it was fixed by Abd el Krim at one hundred. The amount depended upon the prominence of the girl's parents, as well as upon her own personal usefulness, attractiveness, and character; in case of exogamous marriage her own personal desirability was completely overshadowed by political factors. Today the marriage price has again become variable, but does not attain as high a point as it did before the war, on account of the general poverty and the present disinclination to have children. Before the war marriage was eagerly sought by the *bonos*, who wanted to increase

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

583 584 their numbers as rapidly as possible so as to swell their fighting forces and replace losses. Often this desire caused the marriage of youthful couples who themselves were not yet old enough to desire it. At present, however, since warfare is forbidden, the incentive is lacking.

The price of brides in Taghsuth, as well as in other tribes of the Senhaja Sghir, is fixed at seven dollars.

584 When the identity of the couple has been established by the consent, at least, of their parents, and in most cases by their own unofficial mutual consent, the groom goes to the clerk in order to obtain the necessary papers, one of which is given to the bride. The wedding cannot be held until the price agreed upon and stipulated in the written contract has been paid. This does not frequently cause a serious delay, because if the groom cannot produce the money some other member of his family will do it for him, expecting him to pay it back later in kind or in labor. Boys who have purchased their wives at the expense of an elder brother may live with that brother afterwards until payment has been made, and until they have built or bought houses of their own.

584 304 As soon as betrothal is certain, when the papers have been made out and the money paid, the bride is tattooed. The designs have already been discussed under the subject of material culture, and their distribution shown on a map.[1] The tattooing is usually done gratis by an old woman of the bride's *tein* who is adept at the art. If there is no one in the *tein* competent to do this a woman is called in from some other *tein* and is paid for her work.

This operation is done as soon as possible, because it is desirable that the skin should heal before the wedding. On the other hand, families are usually careful not to have their daughters tattooed until there is no chance of having the wedding called off, since to have an unmarried tattooed daughter on their hands would be as shameful as having an untattooed wife.

585 786 The date of the wedding is in some regions limited to a certain season of year, and in others is purely voluntary. Among the central tribes of the Rif, and much of the Senhaja, these festive ceremonies take place only in the month of September, when most of the crops are in, and while the grape picking is going on. Grape picking is a season of carnival; the people sleep in the vineyards, and after and between intervals in weddings the men and women go up to the vineyards, where they joke, shout and shoot off guns, and play games; the men wrestle together, and the women and men form sides and throw stones at each other. The whole aspect of the celebration is one of license, although by this I do not wish to imply that there is a definite practice of a license night. It is only natural, however, that this should be the season for weddings, when spirits are running higher than at any other time of the year. September weddings are the rule in Temsaman, northern Beni Ulishk, all of Beni Tuzin except el Azib of Meidhar, Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, all the Senhaja Sghir except Beni Gmil, Beni Koraa, Bu Adl, Khunduktamda, Fenassa, Beni Wenjin, Marnissa, Beni Krama, and Ulad Azam. In the rest of the Rif, Senhaja, and in Ghomara, weddings take place not only in September but also at other times. In some parts of the September area, this arrangement has begun to break down since the war.

585 As soon as a groom determines when he is to be married, he chooses a number of his friends and schoolmates, usually about twenty, to act as *iuziren*, a word derived from the Arabic *wazir*, with the implication that the groom is a sultan and the chosen friends his

[1] See above, p. 87.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

counsellors. The bride similarly chooses a group of *thiusiren* from among her friends to act as companions. The period between the betrothal and the marriage is considered full of shame and of supernatural dangers for the participants. Consequently they have to be well guarded, and their *iusiren* and *thiusiren* go about with them whenever they leave their respective houses, which they do as little as possible. When the groom goes out he must keep the hood of his jellaba up, and the bride must keep her head covered. If either of them wears *iherkusen*, or leather slippers, he or she must keep the counters, which are ordinarily bent under the heel, up behind it.

This custom of choosing *iusiren* and *thiusiren* is confined to the central Riffian area and the contiguous regions. In outlying areas one finds regions in which but one, two, or three *iusiren* are chosen, with no *thiusiren*, and others in which no companions at all are chosen. The *iusiren* are several in number in Beni Urriaghel, the portion of Temsaman contiguous with Beni Urriaghel, Temjunt, Iherrushen, Ikhuanen, Beni Amart, Beni Koraa, Bu Adl, Beni Ulid, Fenassa, Beni Wenjin, Marnissa, Beni Krama, and Burda. They are limited to a few in Beni Tuzin, western Metalsa, Beni Mohammed, Beni Yunes, Ulad Alu ben Aissa, Inhanahan, Zarket, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Khennus, and Beni Seddath. Of these Beni Tuzin have two or three, and the others usually but one. In small *bones* in regions where many are chosen, all the unmarried boys and girls between fifteen and seventeen years of age or thereabouts serve as *iusiren* and *thiusiren*.

The actual duration of the wedding also varies regionally. In the central Riffian area and among the Nomads, a feast is held for seven consecutive nights (in Beni Said, Beni Bu Yahyi, Metalsa, Beni Tuzin, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Mohammed, Ulad Alu ben Aissa, Temjunt, Iherrushen, Ikhuanen, Beni Amart, Beni Hamid, Beni Beshir, Beni Bu Shibet, Taghzuth, Ktama, Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, and Ghomara). In the rest of the territories three nights is the normal duration.

In the seven-night areas, except among the Nomads, food is provided nightly for all the guests; in the three-night areas and among the Nomads, food is provided on the last night only (except in the tribes of Zarket, Beni Gmil, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Khennus, and Beni Seddath, where food is provided every night). These latter tribes seem to have lost the seven-day tradition while retaining that of continuous hospitality. In any case, food, whether provided on all nights or one, is to be had in both the house of the bride and that of the groom. The groom is supposed to pay for all of it in both houses. Often, however, he is unable to do so, and borrows the money from a member of his family, with the agreement that he shall provide a similar feast on the occasions of the loaner's marriage or shall pay him back when he has earned the money.

During all seven, or three, days of the wedding the bride is closely secluded in her house, and the groom seldom leaves his. Each have their companions with them all the time. In regions where there are no *thiusiren*, the women of the immedate family stay with the bride.

Among the nomads of the Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa, the groom, contrary to the usual practice, sleeps in the tent of his parents-in-law all seven nights of the pre-nuptial period. On the last day he returns to his own tent and makes ready for the bride to be brought to him in the evening. This custom forms a common subject of ridicule among the sedentary tribes.

On the first day of the feast the women apply kohl to the bride's eyes and henna to her hands. They first boil a pot of henna, allow it to cool, and place it in a shallow earthen bowl.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

585 In this they put two cracked eggs. They put a veil over the bride's head and face, and hang
302 strings of silver coins between her fingers. The bride's hands are then thrust into the bowl of henna, and smeared up to the wrist. No attempt is made at forming a pattern. The feet are likewise painted with henna up to the ankles. The women in charge smear the henna on their own hands in order to partake of the magical potency of the bride and of the concoction.

At the same time the hands of the groom are stained with henna. This use of henna is repeated daily in both houses until the feast is over. Neither the bride nor groom is allowed to wash during this period.

Kohl is also applied to the bride's eyes during the feast days, in all regions excepting the central mountain area. It is put on the groom's eyes in the Senhaja and Ghomara and in the east. Kohl is used upon brides throughout the Rif except among the mountain Urriaghlis, Ikbuanen except Tainest, Iherrushen except Telmest, Temjunt, and Beni Amart. It is used upon grooms in all Senhaja, all Ghomara, Targuist, Beni Bu Yahyi, and Shawia.

585 On the first day of the feast, when those in charge of the henna convene, a white flag is set up on the roof of each of the houses.

In the regions which have seven-day feasts at both houses, the last three days are subject to definite food regulation, but on the first four any suitable dish such as *seksu* and *guaz* [1] may be served. On the fifth day a *thamarik* of beans cooked with oil and cut-up peppers is served with bread, and no other food may be cooked or consumed in the two houses on that day. On the sixth day, early in the morning, more bean *thamarik* is eaten and then the men slaughter a goat, the meat of which they give the women to cook in the house of the groom. These same men, members of the groom's family, then lead another goat to the bride's house and do the same.

On the seventh day honey is given to the guests early in the morning, and then a hearty meat dish, usually a *guaz*. After this has been eaten the guests bring their presents, consisting of cattle, goats, meat, bread, butter, honey, and other foodstuffs. Bread alone is never presented.

585 Each morning during the seven-day period two companies of four *iuriren* each come
533 to the groom's house and waken him by chanting, each four alternately, the following quatrain:

Sabḥain er-raẓḳ
Sabḥain el-khalaiḳ
Sabḥain er-ruwâḳ
El ardh el-khalaiḳ.[2]

[1] See p. 59.

[2] The classical form of this would be:
Sabḥân er-râziḳ
Sabḥân el-khâliḳ
Sabḥân er-ruwâḳ
El ardh el-khâliḳ

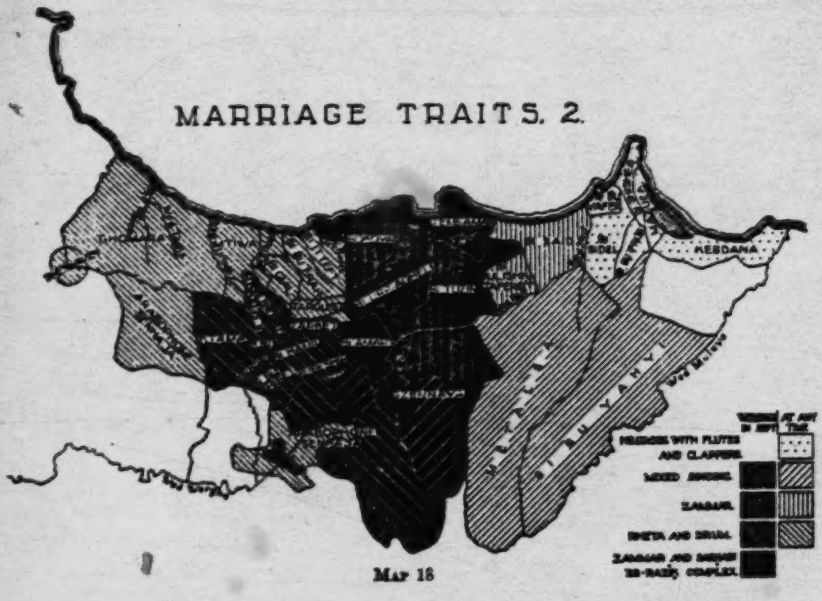
The translation is:
Praise to the Provider (Giver of Bread)
Praise to the Creator
Praise to the Tent (Canopy, Heavens)
The Earth is the Creator.

The Arabic words are little changed from their classical form; they do not occur in the Koran, and I have been unable to trace their origin.

The idea seems to be that the sky fertilizes the earth, which produces life and food. Such a principle may be a survival of a pre-Islamic belief, with the formula translated into classical Arabic to give it greater ritualistic value; or it may be the last vestige of an obscure heresy, such as that of Hamim (El Bekri, pp. 197 sqq.). Discussion of this troublesome question is earnestly solicited.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

The *iuriren* whose turn it is, chant at the top of their lungs, since the other company usually amuses itself by firing off volleys of musketry. After both have chanted it a number of times, they unite in gunplay, and enter the house to greet the groom. The chanting of the *sebbain er-rasb* as the verse is called, is considered a very necessary formality in the region in which it is observed. It is thought that to omit this part of the wedding would be more serious than any other miscarriage of custom. Those who do not practice it look upon it with great ridicule, and call it a survival of heathendom; consequently those who do



MAP 18

practice it take pains to lead strangers away while it is being done, and never mention it nor admit participation in it while travelling. It is another of the strange hypocrisies and inconsistencies of Riffian culture, resulting from their retention of ancient cultural traits. Chanting it is the custom among the mountain Beni Urriaghlia, in Beni Ammart, Iherrushen, and Ikhuanen, and among some families of Iherrassen.

The chief attractions at the houses of the bride and groom, during all the seven or three nights in the regions where food is given nightly, are the dancing and singing of the girls, the gunplay and shouting of the men, the instrumental music, and the coarse humor of the musicians.

There are two types of dancing, the usual one and the type confined to the central area. In the usual type, all the young women of the *bone* who are presentable form two opposing and equal lines in the courtyard, each line with a leader. The women include not only

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

585 535 unmarried ones but also the younger married women whose husbands will allow them to participate. The dancing is slow as far as actual progression and movement of the feet is concerned, since the two parallel lines, each girl with her hands on the shoulders of the one in front of her, move up and down the courtyard, and sometimes swing at angles to each other. A more rapid motion, however, takes place in the abdomen, hips, and shoulders, the dancers writhing in unison in a rapid muscle dance, stamping their feet in time with the music and moving them slowly back and forth.

585 533 While dancing the women sing rhymed couplets, usually in pentameter, to some monotonous and yet not unmusical refrain. The music is more appealing to an American ear than that of the Arabs, but less so than that of the Shluh. The couplets include amorous rhapsodies, extemporaneous personal allusions to boys in the audience whose attention one of the dancers, especially the leader of a line, may wish to attract, and endless narrative dirges and exultations dealing with the war with the Christians. These war poems are beautiful compositions, and have now been sung so often that they have acquired a certain stability of form. They are sung in the dialect of the Galiya; often during the singing men who have participated in the battles referred to burst out weeping.

In some of the songs a dialogue is carried out between the two lines, one representing the Riffians and the other the Spaniards. As an example, one line says (in rough paraphrasing) "O soldiers, why did you come here? Why did you pitch your white tents beneath the crags of sweet-smelling wood?" To this the other, representing the Spaniards, replies, "To see the girls of Temsaman walking by, girded with belts of many colors, and their skirts swishing."

The leaders of the lines sometimes carry shallow open-based drums, the heads of which they pause to tighten by a fire burning in an angle of the court.

585 535 In a restricted part of the central area a different and more active type of dancing is found: all but two of the girls, none of whom are married, dance around in a circle, facing inward and singing. The style of their dancing is the same as that of the usual type. The two leaders, however, dance apart from the others. They wear short skirts, and hold in their hands, instead of drums, wooden clickers or castanets.[1]

These two dance side by side, moving their hips in opposite directions, and from time to time kicking their legs high in the air, clicking their castanets beneath their raised thighs and striking them on their buttocks. When the spirit of the dance has sufficiently aroused them they pick up and swing each other and leap to each other's shoulders and stand for a moment upon them. The atmosphere of this dance, heightened by the presence of the castanets, is quite Andalusian, but more acrobatic. It is to be seen among the mountain Urriaghlis, and in Beni Amart, Iherrushen, and Ikhuanen. Since the war the Taghzuthis have taken over this type of dancing, or rather the circle part of it, since the skill required for the parts of the two leaders is beyond them.

585 533 534 There are several kinds of music played at Riffian weddings. The first is that of the *sammar*, a double-reed pipe with vibrator and opposing stops.[2] The ends of the pipes are adorned with aoudad horns. The music produced on this instrument sounds very much like

[1] Bates (pp. 155–156) says that castanets were used by the ancient Libyans. One representation which he exhibits shows two curved pieces, presumably of wood, held in one hand; another shows two sticks, one held in each hand, and struck together. The Riffian women hold a pair in each hand.

[2] Bates (loc. cit.) states on the authority of Durius Samius that the ancient Libyans played on double-reed pipes.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

that of bagpipes. The *sammar* is played by the pipers from Temsaman and other places outside the heart of the Rif. They wander into that region during the month of September to play at weddings.[1]

Besides being musicians, the pipers act as professional wits, specializing in double meanings, usually of an obscene nature. Remarks which would cause a fight if uttered by anyone else are received with great applause when uttered by a piper.

The places whence these players come have already been listed.[2] The range of their professional practice includes Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, Temsaman, Tafersit, Beni Tuzin, Beni Urriaghel, all Gzennaya excepting Shawia, Beni Amart, and Bokoya. Pipers inhabiting the territory of the Galiya play locally for weddings within their own families, as well as in the central Rif. Outside of our region, the Arabs of Msun, the Beni Znassen, the Brabra, and the Algerian Kabyles employ *sammar* players, and in the last two instances bagpipers as well, to play at their weddings. The North African bagpipe, which is not found in the Rif, resembles the *sammar* in the construction of the two pipes, which are fingered.

The second type of music is that of the *rheta*, a flaring-mouthed straight clarinet which produces an extremely loud, piercing note. This music is accompanied by the beating of large drums, closed at the bottom; sometimes double-headed drums are used.[3] The Jebala is the home of this method of entertainment. The musicians are students from cantonal mosques or *zawias*. This means of livelihood does not place them in a low social category, as it does the pipers. The profession is optional, not hereditary. Jeballi students who wander about playing this instrument at weddings take small boys along to sing in a piping falsetto and dance. On other occasions they use the reed flute instead of the *rheta*, which is reserved for ceremonial occasions. This is the practice in all Senhaja except Marnissa, all Ghomara, the maritime tribes, and Targuist.

The third type, centered among the Nomads, consists of flute music and singing. All the guests, both men and women, except for the dancers, sit together within the brush enclosure surrounding the encampment, or, in the case of sedentary peoples, in the courtyard. They sing in mixed chorus to the accompaniment of a single flute played by one of the company. The musician is not distinguished from the others except in his musical ability. Distribution is in Beni Bu Yahyi, Metalsa, Shawia, Marnissa.

The fourth type is found in the Galiya and Kebdana. Negroes belonging to the Naṣiri sect, who play flutes, beat on large drums, and click iron clappers, wander into these tribes and are employed as entertainers in weddings. The Beni Bu Yahyi employ them when they can obtain their services, which is not often.

Besides these professional types of music, and the singing of the dancers, the part of the older women must not be omitted. They cluster in a corner of the court or in a room, and indulge in the shrill, pulsating cry known as the *zigharit*, famous in antiquity.[4]

The men sit on the ground, leaning against the walls, laugh, shout, emit piercing cries, and fire off their rifles, holding the butts against the ground so that the muzzles are level with their ears. This action naturally has the effect of temporarily deafening some of the guests.

[1] The social position of this group has already been discussed. See pp. 92 *seq.*

[2] See pp. 93–94.

[3] Bates (*loc. cit.*) shows a drawing of a similar instrument, played in antiquity, and also a double-headed Libyan drum.

[4] Bates, pp. 153–154.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

585

The culmination of the ceremony comes, in all regions, on the last night of the feast, when open hospitality is practiced everywhere. The guests, who, in the areas in which there is hospitality on the earlier nights have spent the preceding evenings wandering back and forth between the houses of the bride and groom, entertained alternately by the two groups of dancers and of musicians, concentrate on the final night at the house of the groom.

After it has grown dark the bride is dressed for her journey to her husband's house. Her best clothes are put on, including some which the groom has bought for her as a present. The rest of her clothes and personal possessions are tied together or put in a box to be taken with her. She is veiled, and mounted on a mule. In regions where there are no mules or the path between the houses is too steep for one, she is carried on the back of a strong woman. In no case is she allowed to walk.

Meanwhile, in the region in which the *sabḥain er-razḥ* is chanted, the groom makes a final preparation. He goes out of the house to a place where reeds grow, cuts one, and brings it back to the house. With this he re-enters his room and stays there until the bride arrives, keeping the reed for a purpose which will be described later. In the same region, the bride's costume contains one distinctive feature. The *thiuziren* bring two pliant sticks to the house. These they tie together and bend into an arch, which they hold over her head so that the ends touch her temples. They then throw a piece of cloth over this frame, silk if obtainable, and bind a red and white turban around the temples so that it will hold the arch and cloth in place. They thrust a small mirror under the cloth and over the bride's forehead, and remove her belt, which she is not allowed to wear in the presence of her husband.

When the bride has been thus prepared she is mounted on the mule. In the *sabḥain er-razḥ* area her brother, or her paternal uncle if she has no brother, mounts behind her and clasps her around the waist. Another relative leads the mule or walks beside it. The women of the family, in all regions, walk in a group about the mule. The men of the bride's family go with the procession, slightly ahead, and fire off their rifles all the way, bursting into especially rapid volleys as they near the courtyard of the groom's house. Before entering, the women of the bride's family hand her a tray full of barley, raisins, and almonds, which she scatters all about her as she enters. The guests rush out to pick these up, and eat the raisins, only the men eating the almonds. The barley is saved to be mixed with the next season's seed-grain, since it is thought that the fertility of the bride will cause an added increase in the crop.

The groom now emerges from his room and is handed a stick by one of the *iuziren*, who hands a similar one to the brother or uncle of the bride. These two hold a mock battle of short duration, after which the groom leads the bride into the room destined for her. In the *sabḥain er-razḥ* area he comes out again immediately with the reed which he has previously cut. He hands it to one of the *iuziren*, who holds it while the groom makes three passes at it with his knife without touching it. Then the groom takes it again and cuts it in three pieces. Two of these he gives to guests, who subdivide them and distribute the small pieces. These are considered to be full of *baraka*, and are kept.

While the groom is cutting up the reed eight of the *iuziren* pair off into two equal groups and chant the *sabḥain er-razḥ* for the last time. After they have finished the groom takes the third piece of the reed into the chamber with the bride, and hangs it on the wall. The bride and groom do not leave their room until the next day.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Outside, the guests eat. In the old days in many places a friend of the groom provided a tub of *seksu*, so large and so full that it took four men to carry it, lifting it by chain handles on the sides, and ten men could sit around it eating at once. Another man would bring a spouted pot full of honey mixed with melted butter, which he would pour on the *seksu* as dry spots were uncovered. When a guest was through he made way for another, and when all were through they re-assembled and threw coins as a gift to the groom into what remained of the *seksu*. The usual amount for each to throw in was a dollar. Since the discontinuance of the practice of serving such large tubs of *seksu*, the money is thrown into smaller bowls of *seksu* and into brass trays. Sometimes enemies or rivals throw increasingly large sums into the *seksu* in order to shame and exceed each other until one has run out of funds, when the other gloats over his rival's discomfiture. When a man thus runs out of money he may throw in cartridges, knives, or any other negotiable object. One famous instance is related wherein a man led his mule into the room and backed it into the tub, after he had thrown in everything else he possessed but his clothes.

Defloration of the bride does not necessarily take place on this night, since the couple is often extremely shy, especially if both are very young. If coitus takes place on the final night of the wedding, a portion of the bride's clothing or a cloth specially intended for the purpose is passed through the door and around among the guests, as proof of the bride's virginity. If the defloration takes place on a later occasion, the family of the groom holds a rapidly assembled celebration, called the *shahad er kreir*, to celebrate the event. If the bride is not a virgin the groom may send her home and get his money back, or may keep her and get back a portion of his money. In case he is fond of her he may do nothing about it, postponing the official defloration until some time when he can falsify the tokens of virginity. Such indulgence usually happens only when it is the groom who has deflowered her before marriage. If he keeps her without making any such exhibition, real or false, no action is taken by the community, but the couple starts its married life with an unsavory reputation. Fear of incurring the wrath of the bride's family sometimes prevents the groom from sending back a hymenless bride, much as he may wish to do so.

There is a tradition in the Rif that the *jus primae noctis* was formerly practiced in certain tribes of the Werghan Senhaja: a certain man from el Kelaa of Beni Ulid was sent for to attend weddings in Beni Wenjin, Marnissa, Fenassa, Ulad Azam, Beni Koraa, Bu Adl, Zrarka, and Beni Krama, where he was feasted during all the days of the ceremony, and on the night of the bride's arrival deflowered and then left her. The man is said to be dead and the custom discontinued. The Riffians tell the story as a joke on the Senhajans, and although this circumstance does not necessarily render the tale false it does not increase its chances of being true.

The marriage of a divorced woman is everywhere carried out with less ceremony than that of a girl who is being married for the first time. In the area in which the *sabḥain errath* is chanted, the brother of a divorced woman does not mount on the mule behind her. The same is true of the marriage of a widow.

Residence of the couple after marriage may be matrilocal, patrilocal, in the house of a brother of the groom, or, when possible, in a separate house. Matrilocal residence occurs when the groom is a newcomer to the *bone* and serves the bride's father, as a share-laborer; residence in the house of the groom's father or brother takes place when the groom is not wealthy enough to build a new house or buy an unoccupied one; residence in the house of

776 778 [188] The dead saints generally live on amicable terms with each other, and form a society by themselves. They meet at certain places, as, for example, —

Sidi Ahmed Marrui's qobba among the Ait Waryager.

[190] Of a certain Rif saint I was told that when a man once went to his grave to steal corn he fired off a shot which killed the robber, though no bullet was afterwards found in the dead body. Another Rif saint, Sidi Buhaiyar of the Ait Waryager, is said to make stones fall [681] down from the sky and kill anybody who is guilty of theft, homicide, or any other offence inside his horm; and should anybody attempt to take away earth from the mountain on which Sidi Buhaiyar has his grave, the saint would make him blind.

[196] There are saints who do not allow women to visit their shrines. This is, for example, the case with Sidi Buhaiyar among the Ait Waryager.

778 515 789 [197] The water in which a saint has washed his hands is wholesome to drink, and in Fez people like to wash their hands in the same vessel as has been previously used by a shereef. It is also believed that if a schoolboy drinks the water in which scribes have cleansed their hands after a meal, or the water with which he has cleaned his writing-board, he will more easily learn the Koran; but I have also heard that water in which a shereef or a scribe has washed his hands is only good to drink in case it is done without his knowledge, because otherwise he would object to it (Ait Waryager).

585 778 [198] The baráka of the bride and bridgroom, again, makes a wedding an occasion from which persons who take part in it, and even other people, expect to derive certain benefits. When milk is offered to the bride on her way to the bridegroom's place, she dips her finger into it or drinks a few drops and blows on the rest, so as to impart to it a little of her holiness, and the milk is then mixed with [754] other milk to serve as a charm against witchcraft (Ait Waryager), or poured into the churn to make the butter plentiful (Andjra). The bread and dried fruit which on her arrival at the bridegroom's place is thrown over the bridal box and falls on the ground is picked up by people who want to benefit their corn by putting it underneath the heap on the threshing-floor (ibid.); or the bride throws the barley which is offered her on the people, who catch of it what they can and mix it with their own barley (Ait Waryager).

776 372 out of the house but should be extinguished indoors, as there are jnun at the door (Ait Waryager).

373 [295] A light should not be extinguished by blowing; if anybody blows out a light he will have a rank breath (Shawia, Aglu), or his face may become distorted (Ait Waryager).

342 776 784 Besides the fire-place there is another haunted place in the house, namely the threshold. Nobody is allowed to sit down on the threshold of a house or at the entrance of a tent; should a person do so, he would become ill himself or give bas to the dwelling. So also it would be unlucky for the house and its inhabitants if anybody should pull up the backs of his slippers on the threshold (Hiaina, Amzmis, [585] Igliwa). A bride is carried across it; Chenier says that when the bride enters the bridegrooms's house, her relatives carefully observe that "she shall not touch the threshold of the door". The "masters of the house" are walking in and out over the threshold. Every house, and indeed every place, has its jenn-owners: kull mahall be mwalih. These spirits are called "the masters of the place", in Arabic mwalin le-mkan (mwalin l-mkan), in Berber ayitbab umhan (Ait Waryager) or idbab w wansa (Ait Sadden); or "the men" or "people of the place", in Arabic rijal le-mkan, in Berber ait lmakan (Shelha) or ait udgar (Igliwa); or "the masters of the house", in Arabic mwalin d-dar, in Berber [296] lemluk n tgimmi (Aglu). If the masters of the house are good the inhabitants will prosper, if bad they will have misfortunes or soon die. These jnun are frightened by dogs, by photographs, and by whistling.

802 [298] Among the Ait Waryager, if anybody receives money in the late afternoon or in the evening, he spits on it so that it shall remain in his bag; but it is their custom not to make any payment after asar.

802 784 Grinding corn, touching grain, lending a handmill to a neighbor, taking corn or a handmill or sieve out of the house or tent, and giving away yeast, are acts which are prohibited at or after asar or between [264] asar and sunset. People should not eat in the dark, because, if they do, jnun may be eating with them. Food kept inside the house over night is covered up to prevent jnun from eating of it (Hiaina, Ait Waryager).

784 776 272 [299] The Ait Waryager maintain that not only food but water which is kept inside the house over night should be covered up, to prevent jnun from drinking of it.

754 Among the Ait Waryager he is taken seven times round the straw-stack (atmun) of the household.

If anybody shows a great liking for a thing belonging to another person, wanting, for instance, to buy his horse or his gun, it is best to let him have it, since otherwise an accident is likely to happen to the object of his desire—the horse may be stolen or die. A scribe from the Ait Waryager [425] told me that a proposal to that effect must on no account be refused if the person who wants to buy the article goes to the owner's house and asks him to sell it.

[431] At Fez gum-ammoniac is burned and inhaled by a person who is supposed to have been hurt by the evil eye, among the Ait Waryager benzoin.

[434] Among the Igliwa and the Ait Waryager some earth is thrown at a person who is suspected of having the evil eye.

In the Fahs and the Sahel some sukt mgela is burned and the smoke of it inhaled by one who is believed to have been injured by the evil eye; and the Ait Waryager [435] carry the same thorny plant, sewn up in leather, as a charm.

[436] To turn the tip of the tongue backwards is a method of turning off the evil glance in other parts of Morocco as well. It may be done either secretly, with closed lips (At Ubahti) or with the mouth open (Marraksh, Ait Waryager). Among the Ait Waryager the person who thus turns his tongue, showing the lower side of it, says at the same time, "In the name of God the merciful the compassionate, may his eyes be made blind".

[437] The Ait Temsaman not only hang a black pipkin (taqnust) [822] in their gardens, but regard the colour black generally as a charm against the evil eye. Among the Ait Waryager the bridegroom must [585] [292] wear a black cloak (aje jab), contrary to the general rule in Morocco, which requires that he shall be dressed in white.

[440] Among the Ait Warain, if children die in their infancy, a 776 silver ring is often inserted in the right ear of every child in the family 754 who is born afterwards, whether boy or girl; and among the Ait 301 Waryager, if a man loses his little sons, the next born is provided with 784 such a ring (dhorsit), which is subsequently worn by his younger brother.

In Andjra and at Tangier a ring (hat em) of silver [441] round the little finger of the right hand is used as a protection both against jnun and the evil eye. Among the Ait Waryager rings of silver or brass are for the same purposes worn by men and women.

754 profit; a funeral is welcome to the scribes, it is called their wedding (Ait Waryager). For the same purpose they knock the bier which is kept in the mosque, telling it to get up to work: —Qum t hdem 'ala rasak; and they believe that somebody will die within three days (Andjra). Among the Ait Waryager they beat the bier three times at night, saying, Kar athadmed ya rmahmer, "Get up to work, O bier". And when they want a feast they take the empty palmetto or esparto mat (dasfirt) on which they keep their food when [579] they have a meal and give it a good beating, so that it shall help them to what they want (Ait Waryager). It is also shor when a person for wicked and selfish purposes tries to stop or prevent rain, when needed by the community, by ploughing with two cats "yoked" to a toy-plough.

787 [580] If a person accidentally bites his tongue while eating, he will eat meat (Andjra, Ait Waryager). If a man spills food (Andjra), or gets a piece of a straw or some other trifle (Ait Waryager), into his beard, he will have a guest.

832 [581] At Fez I heard of the following methods by which a man may strengthen his sexual power. He puts some chick-peas (hammos) into water and, when they have got soft and swollen, drinks the water; this, I was told, makes him so strong that he in one night might even deflower seventy-two virgin cows. Or he eats on three successive mornings before breakfast shelled almonds pounded with cinnamon and mixed with honey, which is said to produce a lasting effect. Elsewhere also chick-peas (Tangier, where they are called hommes) and almonds (ibid., Ait Waryager) are used for the same purpose; and so are earth-nuts (biyanat or kaukau; Tangier Fez) and beans (Ait Waryager). The efficacy attributed to them is of course due to their suggestive shape.

585 832 At weddings there are many homœopathic rites intended to ensure or facilitate the consummation of the marriage, which is not surprising considering the frequency of enchantments wrought for the contrary purpose. Among the Ait Waryager, before the arrival of the bride, it is the custom for the bridegroom's mother to place in the yard a mug (daqdeht) upside down with a so-called didli (an ornament consisting of dollar and half-dollar pieces threaded on a string of horsehair and worn by women round the forehead) and an egg on the top of it, and for the bridegroom to break both the mug and the egg with a kick, as I was told, "to destroy the evil", which undoubtedly meant any

595 832 possible impediment to the consummation of the marriage; it is significant that the bride puts on the didli on the morning after her first intercourse withher husband.

787 755 [586] The Ait Waryager believe that if a person gets a sty some woman of his family is soon going to bear a child; and in order to cure it he at night puts some sticks together in the shape of a robber's hut, burns the sticks, and lets the smoke go into his eyes, presumably to rob the affected eye of its sty.

787 843 An unborn child may also be subject to other homœopathic influences besides such as affect its sex. If a woman looks at a gazelle her future child will have eyes as big and beautiful as those of that animal (Ait Warain). At Tangier pregnant women eat quince-apples (sfarjel) or olives in order that the child shall be good-looking. In Morocco, as elsewhere, is found the belief that if a pregnant woman [587] (Hiaina), or one whose pregnancy has just become apparent (Ait Waryager), sees and desires to eat a certain piece of food but is not allowed to do so, the child will have a birthmark resembling that particular kind of food; or if a pregnant woman sees some food and nothing of it is given to her to eat, and she afterwards scratches herself, the child will have a similar birth-mark on the corresponding part of its body (Ait Sadden).

787 777 [590] Some tribes on the Mediterranean coast maintain that if the sardines are plentiful the year will be good (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

777 356 [312] [593] Rezq (razq, rezq) means all sorts of good things contributing to the maintenance and comfort of life. On the other hand, if a person cuts off the water supply for his neighbour he thereby shuts the door of his own rezq (Fez).

You may also sweep away your rezq. This will happen if you sweep the floor of your house or tent at night or after sunset (Fez, Hiaina, Dukkala, Tangier, Andjra, Tsul, Ait Waryager), or even after 'asar (At Ubahti); and the Rifians of Temsaman consider it necessary that the house should be already swept before the first cry for midday prayers, about twenty minutes after noon.

[595] Similar effects are ascribed to the broom (Arab. settaba; Berb. tasttabt [Ait Warain], tastta [Temsaman], disagwust [Ait Waryager]) even when it is not engaged in its normal function of sweeping. It is said that if a person is struck with a broom God will sweep him away from the earth (Andjra), or that he or some member of his family or some of his animals will become ill or die (Ait Waryager).

2: Westermarck--56 E-5 (1898-1926) 1926 MX3 Rif MX3

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VOL. II

CHAPTER XII

VARIOUS MAGICAL INFLUENCES AND OMENS—DREAMS

789 In the last chapter we noticed many instances of the belief that
787 qualities, acts, and events have a mysterious power of producing more
777 or less similar effects. In other cases of magic causation the effect is more indefinite or more unlike its cause. Yet even then we very frequently find the law of association of ideas by similarity operating in combining agreeable qualities or events with agreeable, and disagreeable qualities or events with disagreeable, consequences. And there is a parallel combination in the case of omens, which are often hardly distinguishable from magical influences.

777 [7] If a man meets an old woman on his way he should say, "In the name of God the merciful the compassionate"; and if he meets her in the morning when he sets out on a journey he should not proceed on that day but turn back (Ait Waryager). It is also unlucky to meet a widow or a barren woman in the morning (Igliwa), and so it is to meet a widow in the evening as well (Ait Waryager).

● 585 [8] It is bad fal to meet a bridal procession on the road (Shawia,
787 Andjra, Ait Waryager). In Andjra it is believed that if two bridal processions meet, one of the brides will die, being affected by the other one's bas; and among the Ait Waryager it is the custom for the women of both parties to throw stones at each other to drive away the evil. At Tangier I was told that it is bad fal if two 'ammariyat (more often called a'mamer), or bridal boxes, meet, or if anybody meets one in the morning, because the 'ammariya means a bier. But this explanation cannot apply to the tribes mentioned above, among whom a woman's bier is not made to resemble an 'ammariya or, as in the Shawia and among the Ait Waryager, 'ammariyat are not used at weddings.

585 [9] But although a bride is looked upon with some suspicion and
581 a wedding is not without its dangers, benign magic virtue is on the other hand ascribed both to bride and bridegroom, and the wedding is a blessed occasion from which those who take part in it and even

581 the community at large expect various benefits. For marriage is a
585 good thing, approved of by religion and contributing to the happiness and comfort of life. If a person in travelling comes to a village where a wedding is going on, he should stop there overnight (Andjra) or at any rate join in the feast (Ulad [10] Bu'aziz, Ait Waryager), and it is bad fal if he does not do so; and the same applies to other feasts besides weddings. These beliefs may spring from a feeling that a person should not miss the opportunity to be present on a blessed or joyful occasion—it is in particular good fal if the host invites the traveller to stay over the whole occasion. But there may also be another reason for it, which suggested itself when I discussed the matter with a native informant: a gathering of happy people may have a tendency to throw off the bas, which is then floating about and liable to affect the passer-by. Some consider it bad fal to meet a party of people who are making merry (Andjra, Shawia). So also the contrary belief that it is good fal to meet a funeral (Shawia, Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Temsaman) might be explained by the tendency of the latter to attract the bas; the person who meets it will live long (Tangier).

783 Manslayers are unclear.
755 [11] Feigned stabbing by a homicide is a very widespread cure for stinging pain, in Arabic called nahsa, nogza, bab, or biban, among the Igliwa nnahst or nnogzt, among the Ait Warain tauwurt, among the Ait Waryager dauwort. In the last-mentioned tribe ashes are put on the part of the body where the pain is felt, and the homicide then pretends to stab it with his dagger seven times, every alternate time touching the flesh.

783 [12] The uncleanness of a manslayer is not merely due to the
775 blood pollution but also to his sin. Among the Rifians of the Ait
682 Waryager an ordinary manslayer is not considered unclean, nor is he blamed for his deed. They admit that murder was forbidden by the Prophet and that a murderer will go to hell; but if he says his prayers and gives alms and invites scribes to recite the Koran he is likely to get rid of his sin, and besides, a Rifian is not much afraid of hell.
884 Whatever religion may say on the matter, a man who has not taken
682 anybody's life before he is married is not considered a man. When a young fellow has for the first time killed a person he goes to the next market at the head of his family, dressed in his best clothes

789 and as a means of influencing the weather in accordance with the
822 principle of homœopathie magic. To have intercourse with a black
755 woman is a cure for back-ache (Garbiya, Ait Waryager, &c.) and gonorrhea (Tangier, &c.). The gall of a black cow is a medicine for leucoma, which is characterised by whiteness of the eye. The milk of a perfectly black she-goat is drunk as a remedy for whooping-cough. Cats which are perfectly black are used for many purposes. In sacrifices to jnun the victims are by preference black. The best of all sacrifices at the Great Feast is that of a ram with black rings round its eyes. The noblest and holiest of all horses is the black horse. There are certain families for whom black is considered a lucky colour.

789 While black is the colour of darkness and gloom, white is the
822 colour of light and brightness, and is therefore regarded as good fal.
585 The benign magic virtue attributed to milk is due not only to its usefulness and taste, but also to its colour, which is often emphasised by the natives themselves. It is partly on account of its whiteness that milk plays such a prominent part in the marriage rites.

[19] Among [20] the Ait Waryager, when the bridegroom is painted with henna, a raw egg is put in the bowl containing the henna, so as to make his life "white".

755 [22] Among the Ait Waryager a person suffering from jaundice
822 who cannot persuade himself to drink his urine as medicine ties a red silk thread through his right earlap. Red is used in witchcraft, and in wedding rites. I have elsewhere suggested that the use of red which is found in the marriage ceremonies of so many countries, is meant to be not only a sign of virginity, but also a means of ensuring defloration.

755 [23] At Fez the itch (hakka) is cured by a bath in the Buhrareb, which carries away the sewage, and jaundice (busffar) by the eating of radishes and lemons and the drinking of a little of one's own urine. Among the Ait Waryager a person who has jaundice (bosaffir) cures it by having a similar drink on three consecutive mornings before breakfast; and a person who in walking knocks his toes against a stone stops [514] at once and makes water on them.

777 [26] Pointed and sharp objects are often regarded as ill-omened.
576 Or if you hand to any one a pair of scissors or a knife or a dagger, you should keep the blade in your own hand and offer him the handle (Ait Waryager).

777 Among various tribes no hen is said to be allowed to sit on her eggs
784 in this month, because if chicks were hatched during it they would
796 drink of the water with which some dead body has been washed—in other words, somebody in the house or tent would die (Hiaina, Ait Nder, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager). But I have also heard another explanation of this taboo, namely, that the chicks would die.

765 Various mourning taboos have to be observed in the month of the
585 'Asur. It is a widespread rule that there must be no weddings during it (Fez, Tangier, Andjra, Ulad Bu'aziz, Ait Waryager).

[77] The women refrain from the use of henna on the 'asura day (Bni (Bni 'Aros), or on the first three (Tsul) or ten (Tangier, Amanuz) days of the month, or on other days as well (Fez, Ait Waryager).

[78] In Andjra and among the Ait Waryager, however, it is popularly believed that the Prophet died and was buried on this day, and that it is he who is mourned for, especially by his descendants, the shereefs.

796 [96] There is one night in Ramadan which, according to Islam, is of much more importance than any other, namely, lailatu l-qadr, "the night of power", on which the Koran is said to have been sent down to the Prophet. It is of more value than a thousand months. On this night "Gabriel comes down in a crowd of angels, supplicates and asks grace for every servant, sitting or standing in remembering God". He who then says the prayers "with faith and the hope of reward shall be pardoned of all his past sins". This night is one of the last ten nights of Ramadan, but its exact date[97] has not been discovered by any but the Prophet himself and some of the Companions. A tradition fixes it to be one of the odd nights—the 21st, 23rd, 25th, 27th, or 29th, —and it is generally believed to be the 27th, that is, the night preceding the 27th day.

Among the Arabs of Bukkala and the Rifians of the Ait Waryager the whole Koran is likewise recited during that night.

The Ait Waryager slaughter a number of goats and eat the meat, with oil and bread, in the mosque in the course of the night; this is the only evening in Ramadan when persons other than scribes take a meal in the mosque, because they are afraid of going out in the dark on account of the blood-feud, which is always rife among them. Those who have milch-animals take some dry palmetto leaves to the mosque and put them in the rmahrab where the imam is praying,

3:Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

241 near Sūq al-Arba' of Taurirt. Olive oil, extracted from a communally owned olive grinder and oil press, is the essential fat (1).

The fields, orchards and vegetable gardens (the latter producing [312] broad beans, chickpeas, potatoes, onions, tomatoes, peppers and carrots, to mention only a few) of the Aith Wuryāghil are usually terraced near the houses, along the slopes of the mountains. The vineyards, whither the families repair in September to pick grapes, are further up; and along the crests are the communal goat pastures [313] and the *ghāba* patches, where the women go to cut brushwood for their ovens and for the local mosque. Grape picking is the only important activity in September, which marks the end of the agricultural year; after this is done and after the barley has been reaped and ● [585] threshed and the silos piled up, people make merry and get married before the first rains begin again and the time to plow and sow has started up once more.

675 464 Herding and agricultural contracts of a verbal nature are made between the wealthier and the poorer men of the community, those who have little hiring themselves out to those who have more (2). Individuals who own more animals than they can pasture themselves hire herders who, while the beasts are in their charge, receive all the milk and butter and half the young ones born, and, when the animals are sold, half the profits; if the contract concerns sheep, they receive half the wool as well. Vegetable gardens and orchards are cared for by hired gardeners *(rabbā')* who receive one-fourth of the fruit and vegetable crop; as their job entails setting up terraces, they sometimes get one-third of the vegetables if the land is difficult to work. These same men, if they also perform all the operations necessary for cereal cultivation, are called *ikhammāsen* and receive one-fifth of the barley and wheat crop. The owner of the field supplies the seed, the animals (usually cows) and the plow as well in this type of contract, while the *akhammās* (sing. of *ikhammāsen*) provides only his muscles and a switch to keep the cattle moving while they are under the yoke. The *akhammās* contract is the most

(1) Coon, Carleton Stevens: Caravan, The Story of the Middle East, New York 1951, p. 313.

(2) Sánchez Pérez, Andrés: Aprovechamientos comunales y formas de cooperación en las yemaas del Rif, Africa, Madrid, Noviembre 1947, pp. 75-77.

798 764 2) Funeral Rites Contrary to Sunna: the funeral chant invoking the name of God which is started up when the body is lifted up to be taken to the cemetery (and this is done in the Rif) is rejected as bad (sic). A man should not place himself facing Mecca during the funeral prayer (at the grave) (sic); nor should the body be oriented in this direction (sic) nor should its shroud be pierced (in the Rif, in Ibuq-quyen, a hold is pierced in the nose of the shroud), nor can a stick be nailed perpendicularly to the grave (this is done in the Rif[20]); and the catching...in the act by someone of the body being buried or of the recitation of the hizb[21] of the Koran is like lighting the three lights in agony.[22]

798 [302] [562] [794] [769] 3) Deceits and Frauds in the 'Aid: men should not put henna on their hands and should not shake hands with women, as this is sinful. Getting meals in the mosque is very bad, as are petitions (of gifts) to the imam[23] after the prayer of the 'Aid; and visiting the cemetery on feast days is also bad, as these are days of happiness[23a]. (In the Rif all these practices are observed[24]).

798 585 4) Weddings: It is very bad to mark the doors of the house of either the bride or the groom with blood (this is done in the Rif[25]), and so is firing rifle shots in the bride's room on the day that the marriage is consummated[26]; so is touching the bride's clothing, or helping her mount the mule which is to take her to the groom's house, or helping her alight on arrival, or mounting the same animal behind her; and equally bad is someone showing up at the moment of union of the newly married couple or staying so near to them that he can hear them talking. Also, men playing in front of women and women dancing in

798 front of men[27] are also rejected, as are ululations made by the women
585 on behalf of the groom when he enters the bride's room. (In the Bni Hmid[28], the bride is carried on the shoulders of volunteers to the groom's house; she does not, as elsewhere, ride a mule. In the same tribe, on the first day of the 'Aid, the men, on coming out of the mosque, greet the women, who are waiting for them in a line, one by one.)

E) Procedure:

692 Jural proceedings in the Rif are conducted in front of the
623 jma'th, personalized by several individuals (in one qanun, that of the Imhsuren of the Aith 'Ari clan, by a triumvirate) who meet daily[29] in a central location known to all; under a large tree (usually carob or wild olive), at some water point, or in the mosque. Here the men come with the iziddjifen, and the old and sick men, to sit in the sun, to talk, and perhaps to take a siesta.

695 Procedure is as follows: the plaintiff comes to the area chosen, and, in most cases, both contestants present themselves there, each explaining his reasons without, however, coming to the central point. If he is a stranger, boys and villagers accompany him to the site and there they give the reason for his presence. Ordinarily the question is apt to be settled amicably right there, if it is not an important one; but if this is not the case, for example, and if one of the parties does not agree, the proceedings are extended somewhat longer, as he might request an evaluation by a specialist in such matters, or offer to provide witnesses[30] or other modes of proof; and he sets the time--or
[623] one of them asks to swear. The jma'th, e.g. all of those men present (not all the men of the village nor even nearly all of them) lets the

243 sickles and the women carrying the grain stalks to the threshing areas. The threshing floors are generally merely a circle of dirt ground, although in some areas they are paved. The stalks [231] are placed on this circular floor and mules, donkeys, or cattle are driven about inside the circle, trampling the grain and separating it from the chaff. The grain is further refined by hand-winnowing done by the women. The straw is accumulated in circu- [231] lar stacks to be preserved as food for the animals during the winter months. When relatives have worked a common piece of land 243 465 the yield is divided by measuring off the appropriate amount of grain in straw baskets. If the division is on a one-for-one basis, each alternate basket will go to one of the parties. If the division is at some other ratio, the number of baskets will [427] accordingly be at that ratio. If the land was ploughed, planted and harvested by a akhammas, a sharecropping laborer, the owner of the land will receive four bushels out of every five, the remaining fifth going to the akhammas.

241 Throughout the summer the vegetables, fruits and nuts are harvested as they come ripe. In late summer and early autumn the [465] maize and grapes are harvested. Once again, if the labor of several families or of akhammas has been involved, straw baskets are used to allot out to each man his appropriate portion. It is 585 221 during this period, in the months of August and September, that [241] weddings are held. The agricultural cycle has been completed and there is spare time to arrange the necessary items for a wedding. Also this is the period in which the optimum amount of food is

585 221 available and the weather is most propitious for holding the giant outside wedding ceremonies common in the Central Rif.

221 241 After the wedding season, the cycle resumes and with the first autumn rains the land is ploughed anew for the next crop. [461] This process begins for most men when they are but 12 or 13, and continues with monotonous regularity until they die or become too enfeebled to do the work. [777] Perhaps it is this unending sameness which contributes to some of the fatalistic beliefs held by the tribesmen.

231 Although the Berber of the Central Rif mountains is primarily an agriculturalist, he also maintains a stock of assorted animals. Most families have a herd of goats, a few sheep, and some chickens. If the household has some wealth they will also have a cow and either a mule or donkey. Although livestock is [262] not the primary food source, it is a very important secondary supply, providing milk, butter, eggs, and meat. Livestock is [554] also an important source of material and social wealth and of [554] prestige. Animals serve as reserve capital on the hoof which [471] can be converted into hard cash at the weekly market. Perhaps 231 796 most important is the ritual value of animals. While grain is vital for subsistence there is very little social significance attached to it. On the other hand, while animals are secondary to subsistence they are the essence of the ceremonial and ritual life of the Riffian. There are practically no communal events,

the Berber. Of the various steps that one passes through, domestic celebrations of any magnitude occur only with the naming of the child and marriage. Birth itself, first haircut, circumcision and death are attended by very unelaborate ceremonies.

The ceremonial activities surrounding birth are rather insignificant. When the woman is on the point of delivery she sends for the neighborhood women and for a midwife. Relatives may come and often do although they are not required to. Coon (1931:123) states that on this day a sheep or goat is sacrificed. While wealthier families may offer an animal to feed the assembled guests, it is not ritually incumbent upon them to do so. However, the occasion of the birth of a male child, especially a first-born boy, is one of great joy and such hospitality is not uncommon among those who can afford it.

Coon may have been confusing the birth with the naming ceremony, which occurs seven days later and which is socially the second most important initiation ceremony in the society. On this day the father invites all the brothers and sisters of his wife as well as his own siblings. This is a time during which familial solidarity is required and all close kin of the child on both his mother's and father's sides are expected to be present and to offer gifts. The amount of gift is not fixed but is determined by the economic level of the giver and by previous obligations established by gifts that the giver has received from the parents. These presents include a small amount of money, 20 to 50 kilos of barley flour, a dozen loaves of bread, several

553 is, however, only a descriptive prelude to the much more elaborate presentations which occur in relation to nuptial ceremonies.

585 114 The marriage ceremony is probably the most socially significant public ceremony which takes place in the Rif. The spectacle and complexity of Berber marriage have prompted numerous studies, of which Westermarck (1914) is the most complete and Maunier (1927) the most useful. A rather detailed description of the ceremony among the Beni Iznassen, a tribe neighboring the Rif, is given by Renisio (1932). Accounts for the Rif proper are given by Coon (1931) and Hart (1956). My own description is not at odds with any of the above but the point of view differs from all except possibly Maunier.

585 [584] The marriage process can be broken into three separate divisions of time and into the associated ceremonies and rituals which accompany these three periods. The first period, which takes place prior to the wedding, is one in which the preliminary negotiations take place between the parents of the prospective couple. The second division is the actual wedding festival itself, which takes place over a two or three-day period. The final division is the ceremony held on the seventh day after the marriage. I shall discuss each of these periods in terms of the strategy of bargaining, the expenses entailed by social and religious imperatives, and the function of gift and countergift.

584 In the initial period negotiations are conducted between the male relatives on both sides, the most prominent participants being the fathers of the prospective bride and groom or, if they

584 depending on the hour, return to their respective homes or stay
583 overnight as guest of the bride's father.

584 Once the financial arrangement has been settled, the rep-
583 resentatives of both families go to the religious judge (qadi)
692 in Alhucemas or Targuist and present him with the list of obli-
gations the groom's family has accepted. The young couple are
also supposed to attend this meeting, and in the urban centers
it is obligatory. However, judges who serve tribal areas are
rather relaxed about such attendance and are satisfied if the
fathers are in agreement. It is a rule of thumb that judges
[671] who serve rural Berber areas allow customary procedures to pre-
vail over civil law if the matter does not infringe upon the
security of the state.

584 At this point the groom's family begins to collect the
583 necessary goods for the wedding celebration. This process may
369 take some time, and over a year may pass between the initial
184 agreement and the completion of the stipulated requirements
of the groom. This is, however, quite rare and seems more
584 associated with Berbers living in the city. Among the fellah
585 the marriage has been contracted for good reason and it is
thought best to consummate it as rapidly as possible. Often
the marriage ceremony takes place less than a month after the
meeting to determine the expenses.

585 When all the money and goods have been collected, both
583 parties meet with the qadi again, two or three days before the
692 wedding ceremony. The qadi checks off all the items to make sure

585 [583] [692] [184] [369] that the groom's side has complied with the original agreement. Once he has satisfied himself that all is in order, he signs the necessary marriage document. At this point the couple are legally married and many poor urban matches terminate here. In the Rif, however, the marriage is not socially sanctioned until the wedding ceremony is held.

585 583 431 By now, the groom's family has incurred several different types of expense, although none of them is exactly 'bride-price' or a payment to the bride's family to compensate for her loss. The first sort of payment is the gift, or zattat, given to the father to put him in a receptive mood. This places the recipient in obligation to the giver, although the Riffians seem to attach no binding commitment arising from this and a father can receive such gifts from an unlimited number of suitors. The second expense is the sdaq, which is in cash and devoted, at least in the Central Rif, exclusively for the purchase of objects to set up the new household. The final type of expense involves ceremonial costs for the wedding party.

585 [221] - - The wedding celebration or thamagra is held in the late summer and early autumn after the harvesting of the cereals and while the weather is temperate. For several days prior to the 585 574 ceremony both the bride and groom, separately but with a group of their friends, go from house to house within their dchar. Often the two parties go on a circuit of the same houses at the same time, although this is not always followed. When they do go to the same houses, the girl's party precedes the male group

574
585 by five or ten minutes. As they travel through the hills, each
[533] group sings praise songs of themselves and occasionally derogative songs about the other group. As they sing quite loudly, they can generally hear one another's songs even if they can not always see each other. The bride's group is the larger, numbering about twenty girls, all unmarried, while the male group consists rarely of more than ten and may include married male friends. The groom himself is addressed as Moulay or Sultan during this procession and the men with him are his iwziren or advisors. This is a borrowing of terms which are traditionally used to designate positions in the Moroccan government.

As they come to each house, the girls enter into the inside patio where they sing and dance, while the men enter a separate but connected guest room where they are offered tea and a meal. It is customary for the family head of each
585
574 visited house to present the groom with a sum of money and a
431 gift of clothing or new shoes. The amount given is related to the prominence and wealth of the household, to the degree of relatedness between the groom and the giver, and to previous reciprocal gifts bestowed by members of the groom's family on the host. These gifts, grama, are interpreted by Westermarck as ". . . really a loan which has to be repaid in the future under corresponding circumstances, or an indemnity for similar contributions in the past; hence the amounts given by the various donors are most carefully taken note of" (1914:125).

585 On the day before the bride goes from her home to the home of the groom's father, and after the procession collecting the grana has occurred, celebrations are held in the homes of both [574] the bride and the groom. Patri- and matrilineal kinsmen as well as friends are invited to each house. If the marriage is between related persons, the kinsmen go to the house of the person with whom they have the closest connection either in terms of nearness [582] of kinship, friendship, or both. Since marriage for the majority of the fellah occur in a close community and often with relatives, the parties are often held in adjoining houses or at least in quite nearby places. In such cases the guests often move from one party to another. The ceremony which takes place at the bride's house is also financed by the groom's family, who send over the necessary animals, bread, oil, and so forth. At the bride's house her girlhood friends dance and sing in the patio for the entertainment of the ensemble. The bride's hands are [302] [431] painted with henna during a ceremony in which each of her girl friends and older female relatives gives her a small gift (grana).

585 At the groom's house a similar ceremony takes place. If 533 the father is wealthy, or even if poor but with sufficient social 463 credit, he will hire professional musicians who play, sing and [464] dance at the home of the groom on this night and the following [465] one. These musicians, who receive $20 to $40 for the celebration, also take up contributions from the assembled guests. There is [619] a tribal fraction in the Beni Tuzin who, for obscure reasons, have taken up this occupation as their professional speciality.

585 The father of the groom provides meals and tea for all
574 the guests at his home as well as at the house of the bride.
262 The meal for the guests in even the humblest of homes consists of a course of cous-cous and a meat tajin. In most ceremonies there is also a poultry course. Enormous quantities of bread and tea are also served. The most accepted casual factor for
[178] reducing the days of the wedding ceremony from seven as they were before Abdel Krim to two or three days as they are today was that the expenses of providing hospitality over such an extended period of time was ruinous to all but the most prosperous families.

585 Guests are likewise expected to incur various expenses.
574 At this moment we need only note the recurrent support of a
571 public ceremony which is expected throughout Berber society. All mature guests are expected to provide a quantity of barley, loaves of freshly baked bread, fresh fruit and vegetables, or a monetary equivalent. This tends to discourage, among the poor fellah, the presence of nonrelatives, because it represents an outlay which is not part of their residual social obligations. In addition, such attendance by a nonrelative imposes future obligations which, in only rare circumstances, they are willing to accept. By attending the wedding and taking part in the joining in matrimony of the couple, one gratuitously assumes the duty of attending the naming ceremonies for the infants of this union. Such acceptance of future responsibility is not normally accepted unless there is social advantage thereby.

585 The primary social obligation for the guests occurs on the night of the wedding ceremony. On this evening the bride [593] [602] is brought by her elder brother or a close male relative (but not her father or uncles) to the home of the groom. Transpor- [492] [754] tation is usually by mule with the bride leading the procession, atop a mule and wrapped from head to toe in cloth to avoid the [494] evil eye. In the more accessible areas and among the wealthier [492] families, the bride is brought by truck or taxi to within a few [178] hundred yards of the groom's home where she mounts a mule and follows the rest of the customary procedure. Her parents are left behind at their home and do not see her for another seven days. The bride, dangling precariously from her mount and followed by her entourage, is met some fifty yards in front of the groom's house by his party. This moment signals a renewal of festivities by songs and dances by both a group of girls who accompany the bride and a group of girls associated with the groom's family. Entered into this melee are also the profes- [533] sional musicians, making the entrance into the groom's home quite spectacular. The bride when she arrives at the house is handed a bag of barley which she ceremonially tosses to the right, left, and directly behind her, symbolically representing the hope of fertility from her concourse with her new husband. She then enters the house and remains isolated with the women until the next day.

585 The social obligations of the guests occur at this time, 524 when they are expected to give gifts of cash to whoever sponsored 591 431

585 574 571 431 the groom's wedding and to the groom himself. This is the high point of the celebration and a public demonstration of the web of social debts that have been accumulated over the past or projected into the future.

The gift giving takes place during a ceremony which is supposed to emulate a royal court paying tribute to the king. The groom, addressed as Moulay, or Sultan, enters into a circle of guests who are sitting outside the house on mats or under arbours. He is accompanied by the same set of men who had gone around with him on the previous week collecting grama. This is a group of six or seven close male friends and relatives called his iwziren, from the Arabic wazir (viziers), or ministers. It is rather odd that the terminological forms of central government (sultan and viziers) should exist in the traditional wedding ceremony in an area where the central government exercised little or no authority. That it existed prior to the introduction of central authority is, however, quite certain since both Coon (1931:134-135) and Renisio (1932:146-150) report it.

[534] The groom, wearing a new jeballa, the hood of which covers his face to ward off evil eyes, enters the circle accompanied by his iwziren. As this procession enters into the circle of male guests they sing in Arabic,

[533] [539]

sabhain er-razik
sabhain el-khalaik
sabhain er-ruwak
El ardh el-khalaik

Praise be to the Provider
Praise be to the Creator
Praise be to the Permanent
The Creation has begun.

585 574 571 431 as they walk inside the circle three times. Traditionally, rifles were fired by the iwziren but with the confiscation of all firearms, firecrackers are today used as substitutes.

The groom then sits down on a chair in front of a low table which has previously been placed in the center of the circle. Squatting beside him on the ground are his iwziren, his father, and usually his younger brother. Behind him stand four girls who throughout the remaining ceremony fan him with their scarfs. At this point the gift giving commences. The [522] gifts, always in money, are collected by a traditional spokesmen, often a comic figure, who makes jokes and dances about as he announces aloud who has made the contribution and how much it is. With each announcement, the women who are inside the house but huddled around the doors peering out at the ceremony, commence to ululate. The comic figure goes about the crowd collecting gifts which he hands over to the groom's father, who places them in a brass tray in front of Moulay. The largest gifts, usually given at the beginning of the ceremony, are from relatives of the groom's father, such as brothers and uncles, as well as from relatives of the bride and close friends of the groom's father. These gifts are rarely under 100 dirhams but as the evening progresses smaller gifts of from 5 to 20 dirhams are given by age mates of the groom, by guests who wish to express their thanks for the evening's entertainment, and by local notables who feel it incumbent to give a small gift at each wedding they attend. The greater part of each gift goes to the father of the

585 594 591 431 groom to help defray the expenses of the wedding, but a part can also be designated for the groom's personal use. Each gift must also specify a small amount for the person who makes the public announcement. A typical large gift would be announced as two hundred dirhams for the master of the wedding (the father), five dirhams for Moulay el-Sultan (the groom), and one dirham for the spokesman.

Although the smaller gifts are given gratuitously out of good will, the larger ones (fifty dirhams and upwards) are part of an extensive system of social obligations on the part of blood relatives, affines, and friends who are either fulfilling past obligations or setting up future ones. Recipients of gifts given by the father of the groom in the past are now expected to respond in kind. If the marriage is between members of the same lineage or between families who have contracted prior matrimonial links, a set of obligations will already exist. If it is the first marriage between two families, the bride's family is supposed to initiate good relations between the two families by donating to help defray the wedding expenses.

585 594 591 431 556 [114] Coon has noted in passing (1931:141) that this gift giving can become a competitive game in which the guests give increasingly larger amounts of money during the ceremony in order to shame rivals. I have never encountered such a situation in which the ante was raised during the ceremony itself, but a somewhat similar incident occurred in which a man donated more than the community felt to be his social obligation. At a wedding in one

585 of the fractions of the Beni Wariyaghar, four large gifts were
574 given. One of these gifts was 350 dirhams ($70) from a friend
591 of the groom's father, another of 450 dirhams from a brother of
431 the groom's father. The final two gifts were from two men who
556 had married daughters of the groom's father. One of these sons-in-law had been married into the family of the groom's father for ten years and assumed a superior attitude towards the other son-in-law, who had only two years previously married into this family. The latter, a young man who was poor in his own right but related to several well-off families, went to his relatives borrowing from each in turn. At the wedding ceremony he was able to give 400 dirhams to the father, or one hundred dirhams more than the other brother-in-law. At the time of the ceremony [578] the shamed brother-in-law bitterly accused the younger man's entire family of deliberately shaming him. The family denied that they had been in collusion with the boy, but also they took his side in the dispute and the two families ceased speaking to one another. As a participant on the one side explained to me, "I have a little bit of the evil eye for that outfit and they probably have the same for us."

585 After all the donations have been collected, the groom's
574 father and his paternal uncles take the tray filled with money
571 into the house and counts the proceeds. The amount received by
431 the groom's father may equal the outlay that he had to make to finance the wedding, and if the sequence of events ended here the man's debts might be balanced out by his newly acquired assets.

585 571 431 182 Gift exchanges of this sort, however, are part of an ongoing system, rooted in past transactions and perpetuating future obligations. If, for example, a man paid $300 for a wedding and received back $300 in gifts, the account would by no means be balanced. Unless the man were wealthy, the original $300 was accumulated through a network of previous obligations and the subsequent $300 has set up a whole new series of obligations. [426] There are few Riffians who are owed no debts and owe no debts to others. The system is rarely in even balance where one's debts are equal to one's credits. It is a system of exchange guided entirely by its own rules and completely divorced from commercial exchange. Its ability to work as a system is guaranteed by the pride and honor of the participants.

585 574 The final ceremonial act involves a feast held on the seventh day following the last day of the wedding. On this day the immediate relatives (father and mother) of the bride see her for the first time since she left their home. This is a much smaller ceremony, involving only the close relatives of [431] the two families involved. On this occasion, in addition to the food provided by the host, small gifts are given the bride by her own family. This celebration is socially important because the groom's family wishes to impress upon the visitors 585 574 152 how well their daughter has married. This sentiment seems to be particularly felt among the women associated with the groom's family. They are placed in a strained position since the bride's [292] [291] party are dressed in their finest guest costume, while the women of the groom's family wear their everyday working clothes.

585 of the groom's family wear their everyday working clothes. A
574 feeling of intense competition seems to surround this ceremony
152 with the women of the bride's family appearing lofty and superior vis-à-vis the groom's family. Perhaps it is embodied in the compensatory feeling that one family has permanently lost a member to another family.

585 The seven days prior to this celebration are regarded as a 'honeymoon' during which the bride is still special. With the passing of this ceremony she is no longer tislith (bride) but timrath (wife) and must assume the ordinary business of household
585 activities. Westermarck (1914:309) mentions a further ceremony
431 on the fortieth day after the wedding, in which a goat is slaughtered by the groom and the meat taken to the wife's father's house. There countergifts, in the form of a cow or some goats, are given by the girl's father. This ceremony may
[114] have lapsed by the time I worked in the Rif. At least I have
[198] no data in my notes regarding rituals of marriage following the seventh day ceremony.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

a tower used as a lookout and blockhouse.[9] Conflict was most serious in the Rif, where it was necessary to establish a system of women's markets so that the members of feuding cantons or tribes could carry on a rudimentary trade. Another indication of the varying degrees of dissidence is the scale of fines imposed by customary law. The fine imposed for murder by the Aith Wariyaghar was four times as large as the fine for the same crime among the more pacific Sanhajan tribes.[10] In the laws of the Aith Seddath there is no mention of house-burning, a frequent occurrence in the Rif.

In the days before the European occupation the division between government and dissidence coincided with a division between authoritarian order and representative councils. This division might be described also as a contrast between Arab and Berber systems of government. The Berber system was based upon superimposed councils. The smallest was the council of a village or a number of scattered farmsteads. The second council, called the "council of the great," had jurisdiction over a canton. At least one and sometimes all members of the second council participated in the deliberations of a tribal council. The system was democratic, with rotation of authority; thus no one could gain excessive power. The Arab system was and is quite different, for authority rests with individuals, from the *qaid* who rules the tribe to the *shaikh* or *muqaddam* who rules the village or hamlet.

Of the many ceremonies that influence an individual's life, marriage is by far the most important. Here again there are marked differences from one area to another. In the Rif the wedding celebration lasts seven days; on the first four days, private feasts are held for the families involved; on the last three days, guests are invited to the feasts. In Jbala, Ghmara, and most of Sanhaja as-Srair the wedding celebration lasts only three nights. Other differences appear in the entertainment offered to the guests and the complicated rules that govern the behavior of the bride and groom.[11]

The other crises in the life of an individual—naming, the first haircut, and circumcision—vary correspondingly, as do the procedures related to death and burial. When a corpse is ready for burial in the Rif, it is carried on the door of the local mosque, and virtually the whole community turns out for the procession and funeral. In the Arabized sector of northern Morocco the body is usually carried by paid pallbearers, and only the immediate family may attend the burial. Among the Aith Bu Yihyi and Ulad Stut it is standard practice to carry the dead to the burial place on the back of a donkey or mule.[12]

The number of material traits that can be used as a basis for cultural differentiation is almost unlimited. Containers of skin and iron in Garet contrast with pottery in the Rif, and wooden vessels in Sanhaja as-Srair. Even within the Rif one may distinguish the handmade pottery in Igzinnayen, Aith Ammarth,

[9] Most of the towers were removed in 1922 by order of Abd al-Krim. D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Riffian Tribe of Aith Wuryaghil," *Tamuda*, Revista de Investigaciones Marroquíes, 2 (1954), 38.

[10] For further information on customary law in the Rif, see E. Blanco Izaga, *El Rif: la ley rifeña* (Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1939), pp. 71–75.

[11] Edward Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1914).

[12] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 143–145.

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